

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

ASSEMBLED AT PHILADELPHIA,

DECEMBER 4, 5, AND 6, 1833.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY DORR & BUTTERFIELD,
NO. 70 FULTON-STREET.

1833.

g,

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A MEETING of Delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies, and other friends of Emancipation, convened at the Adelphi Buildings, in the city of Philadelphia, on the fourth day of December, Anno Domini, 1823, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of forming a National Anti-Slavery Society, pursuant to an invitation from the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society.

The meeting was opened with prayer to Almighty God.

Messrs. *Sterling*, *Cox*, and *May*, were appointed a Committee to nominate Officers for the Convention. Their Report was accepted.

PRESIDENT.

BERIAH GREEN, *State of New York.*

SECRETARIES.

LEWIS TAPPAN, *New-York*, and JOHN G. WHITTIER, *Massachusetts.*

Messrs. *Buffum*, *W. Green, Jr.*, and *Lewis*, were appointed a Committee to examine the credentials of Delegates, and also a Committee of Arrangements.

On motion of *Samuel Joseph May*, it was

Resolved, That all Delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies, and all persons present who agree in principle with them on the subject of the immediate emancipation of slaves, without expatriation, be entitled to seats in this Convention.

ROLL OF THE CONVENTION.

From the State of Maine.

David Thurston, of *Winthrop*; Joseph Southwick, of *Augusta*; Nathan Winslow, James Frederic Otis, and Isaac Winslow, of *Portland*.

From New Hampshire.

David Cambell, of *Windham*.

From Vermont.

Orson S. Murray, of *Orwell*.

From Massachusetts.

William Lloyd Garrison, Joshua Coffin, Amos A. Phelps, James G. Barbadoes, Nathaniel Southard, and Arnold Buffum, of *Boston*; Effingham L. Capron, of *Uxbridge*; John G. Whittier, of *Haverhill*; Horace P. Wakefield, of *Reading*; David T. Kimball, Jr. of *Ipswich*; Daniel E. Jewett, of *Andover*; John R. Cambell, of *Charlestown*.

From Rhode Island.

Ray Potter, of *Pawtucket*; John Prentice and George W. Benson, of *Providence*.

From Connecticut.

Samuel J. May, of *Brooklyn*; Alpheus Kingsley, of *Norwich*; Edwin A. Stillman, of *Middletown*; Simeon S. Jocelyn and Robert B. Hall, of *New Haven*.

From New York.

Lewis Tappan, John Rankin, William Green, Jr., Abraham L. Cox, William Goodell, Elizur Wright, Jr., and Charles W. Denison, of *New-York city*; Beriah Green and John Frost, of *Whitesboro'*.

From New Jersey.

James White and Jonathan Parkhurst, of *Essex Co.*; and Chalkley Gillingham.

From Pennsylvania.

Evan Lewis, Edwin P. Atlee, Robert Purvis, David Jones, James McC Crummell, Edwin A. Atlee, Thomas Shipley, Lucas Gillingham, John R. Sleeper, Peter Wright, John Sharp, Jr., and Isaac Barton, of *Philadelphia*; Enoch Mack, of *Wilkesbarre*;

William H. Johnson, of *Buckingham*; Thomas Whitson, Bartholomew Fussell, Aaron Vickers, John McCullough, Sumner Stebbins, and Edwin Fussell, of *Chester Co.*; James Loughhead, of *Pittsburgh*; James M. McKinn, of *Carlisle*.

From Ohio.

John M. Sterling, of *Cleveland*; Milton Sutliff, of *Hudson*; and Levi Sutliff, of *Vernon*.

On motion of *R. B. Hall*, it was

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Convention, it is expedient to form, forthwith, a National Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved, That Messrs. Thurston, Garrison, W. Green, Jr., Lewis and Phelps, be a Committee to prepare a draught of a Constitution for a National Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved, That Messrs. May, Capron, Rankin, Black, Purvis, and Jocelyn, be a Committee to nominate a list of Officers for the proposed National Society.

While the above Committees were absent E. Wright, Jun. was requested to read letters received from individuals residing in different parts of the United States, who had been invited to attend the Convention, and were not present. He accordingly read letters from a large number of respectable gentlemen, all of whom, with one exception, expressed their cordial approbation of the meeting of the Convention for the purposes stated.

D. Thurston, Chairman of Committee on preparing a draught of a Constitution, made a report. The same was read, discussed, and after several amendments, adopted as follows :

Preamble

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbours as themselves; and whereas our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God, and the world,

nearly one sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens ;—and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union, and liberties of the States ; and whereas we believe it the duty and interest of the masters, immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil ; and whereas we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion ; and whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the **AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which Slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slave holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavour, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an

and to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ARTICLE III.

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV.

Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slave holder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings.

ARTICLE V.

The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, a Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above, and not less than ten other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI.

The Board of Managers shall annually elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than five, nor more than nine, members, which shall be located in New-York, who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to agents, and to the Corresponding Secretaries, direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the Society, make an annual written report of their

doings, the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society, and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power, to advance the objects of the Society.

ARTICLE VII.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or, in their absence, a President pro tem. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

ARTICLE VIII.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the accounts of the Treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, the Officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient. A special meeting shall always be held on the Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May, in the City of New-York, at 10 o'clock, A. M., provided the annual meeting be not held there at that time.

ARTICLE IX.

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. The officers of each Auxiliary Society shall be ex-officio members of the Parent Institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

ARTICLE X.

This Constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed, have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

S. J. May, Chairman of Committee on nominating a list of Officers, made the following report, which was unanimously accepted :—

PRESIDENT,

ARTHUR TAPPAN, of New York.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

Moses Brown, of *Rhode Island*; Samuel Fessenden, Samuel F. Aussey, Ebenezer Dole, and Joseph Southwick, of *Maine*; Nathan Lord, and Calvin Cutter, of *New-Hampshire*; Matthew W. Birchman, of *Vermont*; Asa Rand, E. M. P. Wells, and Effingham L. Capron, of *Massachusetts*; Eleazer T. Fitch, Eli Ives, Samuel J. May, Simeon S. Jocelyn and Gustavus S. Davis, of *Connecticut*; Beriah Green, D. C. Lansing, John Rankin, and J. R. Wilcox, of *New-York*; Robert Bruce, William Jackson, Edwin A. Atlee, and Evan Lewis, of *Pennsylvania*; Benjamin Ferris, of *Delaware*; and Erotas P. Hastings, of *Detroit, Michigan Territory*.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence,

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR. of New-York.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts.

Recording Secretary,

ABRAHAM L. COX, of New-York.

Treasurer,

WILLIAM GREEN, JR. of New-York.

MANAGERS.

STATE OF MAINE.

David Thurston, *Winthrop*; Calvin Newton, *Waterville*; George Shepherd, *Hallowell*; Richard H. Vose, *Augusta*; Patrick Henry Greenleaf, *Portland*; and —————, President of the Bowdoin College Anti-Slavery Society.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

George W. Ward, *Plymouth*; James Wilson, *Keene*; and Amos Cambell, *Acworth*.

VERMONT.

Augustine Clark, *Danville*; Elisha Bascom, *Shoreham*;

William Arthur, *Hinesburgh*; ——— Butler, *Waterbury*; Orson S. Murray, *Orwell*.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Amos A. Phelps, Ellis Gray Loring, David L. Child, Samuel E. Sewall, James G. Barbadoes, Arnold Buffum, and Isaac Knapp, *Boston*; Moses Thatcher, *North Wrentham*; John G. Whittier, *Haverhill*; Jacob Ide, *Medway*; Daniel S. Southmayd, *Lowell*; John M. S. Perry, *Mendon*; Philemon R. Russell, *West Boylston*; Le Roy Sunderland, *Andover*; David T. Kimball, Jr. *Ipswich*; and ——— ——— President of the Amherst College Anti-Slavery Society.

RHODE ISLAND.

Josiah Cady, Henry Cushing, John Prentice, Thomas Williams, and George W. Benson, *Providence*; and Ray Potter, *Pawtucket*.

CONNECTICUT.

George Benson, *Brooklyn*; Alpheus Kingsley, James T. Dickinson, *Norwich*; and S. P. Dole, *Middletown*.

NEW-YORK.

Joshua Leavitt, William Goodell, Lewis Tappan, George Bourne, Charles W. Denison, Isaac M. Dimond, and Peter Williams, *New-York City*; Samuel N. Sweet, *Adams*; Stephen P. Hines, *Sandy Hill*; and William Allen, *Buffalo*.

NEW JERSEY.

James White and James Parkhurst, *Essex Co.*

PENNSYLVANIA.

Edwin P. Atlee, Thomas Shipley, Robert Purvis, and James McC. Crummill, *Philadelphia*; Samuel Williams, John B. Vashon, *Pittsburgh*; Bartholomew Fussell, *Rennett*; Enoch Mack, *Wilkes-barre*; Thomas Whitson, and Abraham D. Shad, *Chester Co.*; Linley Coats, *Lancaster Co.*; and Job F. Halsey, *Alleghany Town*.

OHIO.

O. K. Hawley and Henry Cowles, *Austinburgh*; Theodore D. Weld, *Lane Seminary, Cincinnati*; John M. Sterling, *Cleveland*; Woolsey Wells, *Akron*; H. C. Howells, *Zanesville*; John M. Monteith, *Elyria*; and ——— King, *Warren*.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That Messrs. Atlee, Wright, Garrison, Jocelyn, Thurston, Sterling, W. Green, Jr. Whittier, and Goodell, be a committee to draught a DECLARATION of the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for publication, to which the signatures of the members of this Convention shall be affixed.

Adjourned at 5 o'clock, P. M.

December 5, 1833.—The Convention met agreeably to adjournment at 9 o'clock, A. M.

After Prayer, the minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That measures be taken to ascertain how many preachers in the United States are slaveholders. [A committee was accordingly chosen.]

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention those editors who have embarked in the cause of immediate emancipation, and plead for the rights of the colored race, are deserving of our hearty thanks; and that we will use our individual and collective influence to sustain and aid them in this good work, by extending the circulation, and increasing the subscriptions of their respective papers, and by such other means as may be proper.

[This Resolution produced an interesting discussion.]

On motion, the following Resolution passed by an unanimous vote :

Whereas, the self-denying and untiring exertions of William Lloyd Garrison, in the holy cause of abolition, justly entitle him to the grateful respect and affectionate esteem of all the friends of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and particularly of this Convention—therefore

Resolved, That Messrs. Hall, Denison and May be a committee to present to William Lloyd Garrison the respect and esteem of the members of this Convention for his devotedness to the cause of the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves in this country.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the early, disinterested, and persevering labors of BENJAMIN LUNDY, in the cause of Emancipation, deserve the lively gratitude of this Convention, and of the friends of human rights throughout the world.

Resolved, That Messrs. Hall, Denison, and May, be a committee to present the above Resolution to Benjamin Lundy.

Edwin P. Atlee, Chairman of a Committee on drafting a Declaration of the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, made a Report, which was twice read, fully discussed, and after several slight amendments, unanimously adopted as follows :

DECLARATION

OF THE

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

ASSEMBLED IN PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 4, 1833.

The Convention, assembled in the city of Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following **DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS**, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the **TEMPLE OF FREEDOM** was broadly this—"that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, **LIBERTY**, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood ; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources ; but the honest conviction that **TRUTH**, **JUSTICE**, and **RIGHT** were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete ; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors,

and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain—That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his

own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American slavery;

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is [according to Scripture*] a MAN-STEALER;

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law;

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity;

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of Nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—That all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because **SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD;**

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property: it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers: and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given

* Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard, as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves: they authorize the slave owner to vote for three fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the south for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger: **IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.**

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence, and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the **EVERLASTING ROCK.**

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

We shall send forth Agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in GOD. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery, that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

Done in Philadelphia, this sixth day of December, A. D. 1833.

Resolved, That the above Declaration be engrossed on a sheet of parchment, signed by all the members of the Convention, and extensively published.

Adjourned at 5 o'clock, P. M.

Friday, December 6th, 1833. Convention met agreeably to adjournment. After Prayer, the minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

Resolved, That this Convention, acting under a sense of dependence upon Almighty God for the accomplishment of the object which they have assembled to promote, do affectionately and earnestly recommend to the Christian Church throughout the land to observe the last Monday evening of each month as a Concert of Prayer in behalf of the enslaved, and of the people of color.

Resolved, That the members of this Convention will exert themselves to procure from the several denominations to which they belong solemn and earnest addresses to the members of their several denominations, in the slave-holding States, to awaken them to a sense of their duty in view of the sufferings and degradation of our colored brethren.

Resolved, That the cause of abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women; inasmuch as one million of their colored

sisters are pining in abject servitude—as their example and influence operate measurably as laws to society—and as the exertions of the females of Great Britain have been equally instrumental in liberating eight hundred thousand slaves in the colonies.

Resolved, That we hail the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day, and that we feel great confidence in the efficacy of their exertions, and that those ladies who have promptly come forth in this great work are deserving the thanks of those who are ready to perish.

Resolved, That all the Ladies of the land are respectfully and earnestly invited, by this Convention, to form Anti-Slavery Societies in every State, County, and Town in the Union; and that it be recommended to them to publish tracts and addresses calculated to awaken a slumbering nation.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society the adoption of suitable measures to collect information from all parts of the commercial world, respecting the best means of obtaining supplies for the consumption of our citizens of the products of free labor in substitution for those of slaves.

Resolved, That every citizen, and especially the benevolent and affluent of our land, be called upon to contribute of their means, as God has given them ability, to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and that it be earnestly recommended to the members of this Convention, and to all others with whom they may have influence, to devote a certain portion of their income, every month, to the purposes of ameliorating the condition of the colored race.

Resolved, That the members of this Convention exert themselves to urge forward, without delay, Petitions to Congress, for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and that such Petitions be committed to Hon. William W. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, to be presented by him to Congress, during its present session. And that the President of this Convention be requested to address a letter to Mr. Ellsworth, and to such other members of Congress as he may deem expedient, beseeching them not only to present, but fearlessly to advocate the prayer of the petition.

Resolved, That James Given, a colored minister of the gospel, recently from Liberia, and now in this city, be requested to present to this Convention such statements respecting that Colony as may be in his possession; and that such special intelligence from Africa, as is now possessed by any member of this Convention, be also presented; the whole to be communicated to our fellow-citizens at large under the sanction of this body.

Rev. James Given, a colored preacher, who has lately returned from Liberia, on request from the Convention, then made a statement of the condi-

tion and prospects of emigrants, and replied at length to many interrogatories put to him by members of the Convention; which statements will be published, at an early period, in due form.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to their female friends, for the deep interest they have manifested in the cause of Anti-Slavery during the long and fatiguing session of the Convention.

Resolved, That this Convention highly approve of the philanthropic efforts of Miss Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, Conn., in her labors to instruct our colored sisters; and while we deeply sympathise with her in view of the persecutions she has endured in the prosecution of her pious purposes, we pledge ourselves to afford her our continued countenance and assistance.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention those teachers of religion who fail to lift a warning voice against the oppressions that are done in this land, in the enslaving of one sixth part of its population, do not declare the whole counsel of God, and fail in one important branch of their appropriate duties.

Resolved, That the laws and customs which withhold the Bible from a large portion of the native population of this country, are inconsistent with the first principles of religious liberty, and that any plan of religious instruction for the slaves, which pretends to be adequate, while withholding the Bible, is undeserving the confidence and patronage of the Christian public, and furnishes a dangerous precedent, tending to render insecure the religious liberties of the American people.

Resolved, That we view with approbation the resolution of the Pittsburgh Anti-Slavery Society to establish a Manual Labor Institution for the education of colored and white youth, and that we commend this project to the patronage of the friends of the colored population of this country.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to assist James Loughhead, the agent of the above Institution, with their counsel.

Resolved, That this Convention regard the annual Conventions of the Free people of color of the United States with decided approbation, as eminently calculated to advance their interests, and render them respected in the eyes of all their intelligent fellow-citizens.

Resolved, That George Bourne, W. L. Garrison, and C. W. Denison, be a committee to prepare a synopsis of Wesley's "Thoughts on Slavery," and of the anti-slavery items in a note formerly existing in the Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and of such other similar testimony as they can obtain, to be addressed to Methodists, Presbyterians, and all professed Christians in this country, and published under the sanction of this Convention.

Resolved, That those literary institutions which have offered their privileges

and benefits to our colored brethren deserve the thanks and the patronage of the friends of the abolition of slavery throughout the country.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the officers thereof, and published in the papers friendly to our cause.

Resolved, That L. Tappan, A. L. Cox, C. W. Denison, and W. Green, Jr. be a committee to superintend the publication of the records of our proceedings, and such other articles connected therewith, as they may think proper.

An Address from the New-England Anti-Slavery Society to the friends of the colored race in the United States, soliciting funds to establish a Manual Labor School for colored youth, was read : whereupon it was

Resolved, That the same be referred to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the fountains of knowledge, like those of salvation, should be opened to every creature, and that we regard those laws which prevent or restrict the education of the people of color, bond or free, as pre-eminently cruel, impious, and disgraceful to a Christian state or nation, and that we will seek their abolishment both in the free and slave States of this nation, if possible, more earnestly than corporeal slavery itself, inasmuch as ignorance enslaves the mind and tends to the ruin of the immortal soul.

Resolved, That the Phoenix Association of the city of New-York, the various literary associations, both male and female, in the cities of Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston, and of various other places, and the numerous Temperance and other associations among the colored people, for their improvement, are highly creditable to them, and deserving of the highest approbation of this Convention.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be given to the President for the faithful, able and efficient manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Secretaries and Committee of Arrangements, who have officiated during the session of this body, and also to our friends in the city of Philadelphia for the kind and hospitable reception they have given us.

After an affectionate and solemn address to the Convention, by the President, and prayers to Almighty God for His blessing upon the proceedings, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Attest,

BERIAH GREEN, President.

LEWIS TAPPAN,
JOHN G. WHITTIER, } Secretaries.

After the adjournment of the Convention, a meeting of the **MANAGERS** of the **AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY** was held at the Adelphi Hall, when the following persons were chosen the **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** for the present year :—

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *Chairman*.

JOHN RANKIN,

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

WILLIAM GREEN, JR.,

WILLIAM GOODELL,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.,

ABRAHAM L. COX, and

ISAAC M. DIMOND.

☞ The Office of the **AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY** is at No. 130 Nassau-street, New-York. Communications to be addressed to **ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.**, *Corresponding Secretary*.

APPENDIX.

Previous to the Convention, letters were received by the Committee of invitation in New-York from the following gentlemen. Thomas Adams, Vassalboro, Me.; S. P. Hines, Sandy Hill, N. Y.; Nathaniel Swasey, Bath, Me.; Wm. Chase, Providence, R. I.; A. G. Tenney, of Bowdoin College, Me.; Philemon R. Russell, West Boylston, Ms.; James A. Smith, Durham, N. H.; S. L. Pomroy, Bangor, Me.; S. N. Sweet, Adams, N. Y.; H. C. Howells, Zanesville, Ohio; Samuel Crothers, Greenfield, Ohio; Thirty-two students in Waterville College, Me.; Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.; Josiah Clark, Roxbury, Ms.; George Duffield, Carlisle, Pa.; S. P. Dole, Middletown, Ct.; Joshua V. Himes, Boston, Ms.; Jeremiah Chaplin, Rowley, Ms.; R. H. Rose, Silver Lake, Pa.; Wm. Jay, Bedford, N. Y.; John M. S. Perry, Mendon, Ms.; Theodore D. Weld, Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio; Orestes K. Hawley, Austinburgh, Ohio; N. P. Rogers, and George W. Ward, Plymouth, Ms.; C. P. Grosvenor, Salem, Ms.; Kiah Bayley, Hardwick, Vt. These letters all express the most cordial approbation of the doctrine of *immediate emancipation*, and with one exception are in favor of the immediate formation of a National Society. The limits of this pamphlet will permit the insertion of but a sample of these interesting letters—much that is valuable must necessarily be omitted.

No. 1.

Letter from Samuel Crothers.

GREENFIELD, NOV. 22, 1833.

Dear Sir,—I rejoice to hear of the movement among the friends of *immediate emancipation* for forming a National Anti-Slavery Society. I should consider it an honor and a privilege to be present as a member of the proposed Convention in Philadelphia. But the distance, and expense of the journey, and inclemency of the season, forbid it. I cordially bid you

God speed. I no more doubt that the friends of immediate emancipation will ultimately triumph, than I doubt that there is a God who has pledged his faithfulness for the execution of *judgment for them that are oppressed.* The disgraceful scenes which have been witnessed lately in some parts of the Union, indicate alarm among the enemies of universal liberty. The Devil seldom comes down in such great wrath, except when he knows that his time is short.

The doctrine of *gradual emancipation* is based on the principle of *gradual repentance*; and I cannot conceive how any man of sound theology and pure morals can persuade himself to preach so frightful a heresy. It requires great ignorance of human nature to believe that when such a principle becomes popular, the community will apply it to nothing but slave holding. Praying that the Lord may preside over the deliberations of the Convention, and give wisdom and zeal, prudence and firmness, I remain, very respectfully,

Your friend and fellow-laborer,

SAMUEL CROTHERS,

Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Greenfield, Ohio.

No. 2.

Extract of a letter from George Duffield,

(Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, Pa.)

CARLISLE, Nov. 16, 1833.

E. WRIGHT, Jun.

Dear Sir,—Severe and protracted indisposition has prevented me from addressing you ere this, in compliance with the request contained in a letter from several gentlemen of your city. It would afford me great pleasure, to meet with the philanthropic and patriotic citizens of this great republic who will assemble in Philadelphia on the 4th proximo; but I am not yet able to leave my house, and will be confined and unable to preach during the coming winter. It is my earnest desire that the subject of Slavery may never cease to be agitated, and the dreadful guilt of those who hold their fellow-beings in involuntary servitude asserted, and pressed on their consciences, till this our great national sin shall be repented of, and cease to be perpetrated. I believe that it is perfectly lawful and expedient to adopt such measures as may be calculated to awaken public attention, and to secure such a change in the Constitution of the United States, by the process prescribed in that instrument itself, as will empower the government to commence the work of emancipation. The very existence, as well as the welfare, of our government depend upon the exercise and display of justice, and the fear of God in this matter. It is not a question of mere local concernment, which the slave-holding States have the exclusive right of agitating and discussing.

We are involved with them, and suffer seriously from the evils allowed by them to exist among them. There is a conflagration already commenced, which, although it threatens immediate destruction only to them, does nevertheless jeopard our security, and requires the efforts of every benevolent individual to arrest, and prevent from spreading. The movements of the Anti-Slavery part of the community, will, I trust, be successful, and soon be regarded in another light than as the wild vagaries of fanatics. Truth is Omnipotent, and the calm, firm, consistent, forgiving, persevering assertion of the truth, will not fail to correct the judgments of men pronounced under the influence of prejudice and passion. Every great and salutary reformation or advancement in science and philosophy, has in the first instance been opposed by priests and politicians alike, whose interests were jeopardied by the change. It is no new thing in the history of the world, to find the infidel community and the high and titled ecclesiastics of the day unite, in attempting to brand as fanatics, the men who have groaned over the sins of the times, and zealously asserted the truth and commands of God in opposition to the vain philosophy of the former and the calculating selfish *prudence* of the latter. As long as the friends of universal emancipation arm themselves with truth, and evince the spirit of Christ, they have no reason to doubt their ultimate success. The cause demands the prayers, the zeal, and the untiring exertions of every Christian patriot and philanthropist. Let it rest on its own immutable basis of truth and right, and it will triumph.

No. 3.

Letter from Theodore D. Weld.

LANE SEMINARY,

Walnut Hills, Ohio, Nov. 22, 1833.

MESSRS. ARTHUR TAPPAN, JOSHUA LEAVITT,
and ELIZUR WRIGHT, JUN.

Dear Brethren,—I have received your Circular, inviting me to aid in the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society, as a member of the Convention which is soon to assemble in Philadelphia.

My whole heart is with you. But a *physical* impossibility prevents my *personal* attendance. Nothing less could, in my view, absolve me from the duty.

You request me, if unable to attend, to transmit to you an expression of my views upon the general subject.

I say then: God has committed to every moral agent the privilege, the right and the responsibility of *personal ownership*. This is God's plan. Slavery annihilates it, and surrenders to avarice, passion and lust, all that makes life a blessing. It crushes the body, tramples into the dust the upward tendencies of intellect, breaks the heart and kills the soul.

THEREFORE, I am deliberately, earnestly, solemnly, with my whole heart

and soul and mind and strength, for the *immediate, universal, and total abolition of slavery.*

My most respectful salutations and heartiest God-speed to the Convention.

Most affectionately yours,

THEODORE D. WELD.

No. 4.

Extract of a letter from Philemon R. Russell,

(Pastor of a Congregational Church in West Boylston, Mass.)

are emphatically a *slave-holding nation*; and I am fully persuaded, that a moral, national institution, around which all good men in our country may rally, and apply the only saving remedy to a degenerate community, should be *immediately organized*. The time has *now* arrived when the Christian philanthropists of this *slave-holding nation*, should rise above all sectional, sectarian, and political differences, and consecrate all their moral powers, to humanize public sentiment, and deliver the vassal from the murderous bondage of moral, intellectual, and physical slavery.

When laws are simultaneously enacted in the Southern and Northern States to degrade the blacks "to the condition of BRUTES," that they may be abused with a brutal "APATHY;" when imprisonment and fines are inflicted upon the philanthropy of educating either slaves or free people of color; when grave judges arrive at the serious conclusion that *native freemen* are not *citizens*; when a united and powerful aristocracy, extending from one end of the continent to the other, is treading the powerless poor under its haughty feet, and employing its numerous mercenaries to banish the victims of "*the craft*" to a barbarous land—when such atrocities exist in every part of this great republic, it is *time, high time*, that the united voice of American philanthropy should be raised and sounded in the persuasive, and eloquent tones of justice and humanity, through the heavy ears of a *guilty nation*.

No. 5.

Extract of a Letter from H. C. Howells,

(Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, in Zanesville, Ohio.)

I have entered the field, and pray God, that I may NEVER quit it, but with death, or victory. Opposition and slander are the consequences, but through the mercy "none of these things move me."

I do not wonder to find that slave holders are constantly awake to guard,

with all their energy, the Citadel of Babylon; but to find that *Christians* keep the out posts, and the *professed* MINISTERS of the *God of love*, mount the ramparts, act the double part, by crying, "Peace, peace," to them that are within, pampered by human woes, also to give the *first* alarm, and make the *first* resistance, to those who come in the name of Jehovah, with the hammer of the Lord, to "break every yoke," this, surely this, may well make angels weep! Crime and cowardice are always connected. Go on, my revered brethren, fearlessly; and tyrants will, trembling, quit the field; and those professors also who have taken part with them, will either, like Judas, prove traitors indeed; or, like Peter, return and weep bitterly. Courage, my brethren, the Captain of Salvation leads on to certain though *bloodless* conquest. "Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against Babylon." Jer. li. 27. The settled conviction of my mind is that this course is paramount to **EVERY OTHER**, save and except the preaching of the precious Gospel.

Your brother and servant in the cause of Jesus,

H. C. HOWELLS.

No. 6.

Extract of a Letter from C. P. Grosvenor,

(Pastor of a Baptist Church in Salem, Ms.)

I cannot doubt that a National Society established on right principles may accomplish an amount of good capable of being estimated by no man now living, and only by the enlightened generation, both white and colored, who shall be living, when—(my heart exults in the anticipation)—*when* the word *slave* shall have become obsolete in that world, where the glorious Son of God bowed down with heavenly meekness to the scourge of his persecutors, and freely gave himself to die by their hands, that every yoke, whether religious or moral or political, every unjust and cruel yoke might be broken off from the necks of men. The gospel of Jesus Christ imperatively demands that this be done. If I were addressing an auditory on this thrilling and mighty subject, I might entrench myself behind the first seventeen verses of the second chapter of James, and find heavy ordnance in the first four verses of his fifth chapter; which passages, I will venture to suggest, might be read with a happy effect in the proposed Convention.* The gospel is not chargeable with the absurdity of *both* palliating the guilt of slavery and unequivocally condemning the cruel practice, *as some argue*. My own views of slavery have undergone no change for twenty years, unless an increased abhorrence of it may be called a change. While I was Pastor of a church in South Carolina, my knowledge of American slavery was increased; but its dark features (I know no other) were rendered no less dark and disgusting by my near inspection of them.

If it is at all needful to take any notice of the Am. Col. Society, I will say that, through culpable inattention, I remained strangely ignorant of it, in respect to both its ultimate bearings on slavery and its boasted power of removing the

*This very pertinent suggestion was complied with.—Eds.

colored people from the country, until after I had appeared as its advocate on July 4, 1831, in a public Address in this town. On a review of that Address, I perceived that my own argument was unsound. This discovery turned my thoughts with great seriousness to an enquiry into its real claims on my confidence and support, and the result was my decided conviction of its utter powerlessness to accomplish the proposed object. It is demonstrable that, in a war with Great Britain, it would be as wise to rely on a single schooner to resist effectually her entire navy, as it is to rely on any project for the transportation of 21-2 millions of coloured people, with their annual increase of 60,000; it being necessary, in order to effect this object in 100 years, to transport 100,000 every year. At an expense of 60 dollars a head, which is less than it has cost hitherto, the annual expenditure would be six millions of dollars, and the whole expense would be 600 millions of dollars. The Colonization Society have spent 17 years in transporting less than 4,000. How soon will they do the work at this rate, or at 100 times this rate? I find that this question always startles a Colonizationist; and I believe it would, if duly considered, disband the Society to-day, unless the members have in view one of the two following objects. No one member can have both objects in view. 1. The doing some good to Africa. 2. The strengthening of the chains of the slave. I believe that some have one and some the other object in view; but that any intelligent citizen of the United States can calculate the amount of work to be done, and hope to *expatriate* the whole colored population of the land, I cannot believe.

I would, therefore, respectfully submit to the Convention, whether the utter impracticability of entire transportation is not a conclusive argument against all *reliance* on the Colonization Society to remove the evil under which the nation groans, and which threatens permanently to mar her peace and to stain her glory, if it does not point the fatal dagger to her heart. God forbid, that any Society be formed which shall not propose to itself both the promotion of *His glory and the good* of all our *fellow-citizens*, both *white and colored*.

Universal, simultaneous, immediate emancipation would *enrich* the Slave States and secure their peace. In support of this proposition I do not rely entirely on the truth that it is always for the interest of every man to do right; but the fact that abolition has always been safe hitherto, and the contrast of the steadily growing prosperity and strength of the Free States with the waning condition of the Slave States fully sustain me.

I am strongly inclined to think that it is enough for the proposed Society to show, what is by no means difficult, the guilt of holding our fellow-men in slavery; the participation in this guilt of *all* the States so long as they connive at the legalization of slavery by the common Constitution of the country; and the impracticability of transportation; together with the practicability, the safety and the benefits of emancipation; leaving the Colonization Society responsible to God and the country for any sinister motives by which any of its members are governed.

I would as soon attempt to lad^r out the ocean with the pen I write with, as enter on the work of transportation as a hopeful cure of this evil.

Though a citizen of a free State, I should be a partaker in the guilt, if I did not bear my testimony against this *national* sin; and I should deserve to be myself a slave, if I did not abhor the holding of any of my fellow men in slavery.

Any thing like a *forcible* removal of the free colored citizens is an abomination, and will directly tend to the ultimate insurrection of *both the slaves and the free*.

No. 7.

Extract of a letter from John M. S. Perry,

(Pastor of the Evangelical Cong. Church, Mendon, Mass.)

I bless God, that there are those rising up, who dare to call slavery a sin; and to do it too, in the face of a corrupt public sentiment, which, at the North as well as the South, is crushing the colored man below the level of a man;—a public sentiment which is shutting many of this much injured people, not merely out of the pale of society, but out of the Kingdom of Heaven.

I bless God, that the number of those is increasing who dare to preach immediate repentance for this sin, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. Too long have we satisfied our consciences by saying, that slavery is an *evil*. True it is an evil, as the poor slave, goaded on to his daily task, can testify in tears and blood. But that is not all. *Slavery is a sin*: and a sin of the deepest die.

* * * * *

Again Colonization principles cannot accomplish the abolition of slavery, except it be in the way of compulsory expatriation. For the colored man knows no country but the land of his birth. *Africa is not his home*. He is as truly a stranger there as the white man. He is a stranger to its climate, its soil, its productions, its diseases, its inhabitants. If he goes there, it is by virtual compulsion. True, there may be the appearance of free will and consent; but they are the free will and consent of one, who prefers banishment in an unknown land, to slavery, oppression, and death, in his own. It is death to go; it is worse than death to stay. Such a method of abolition may be consonant with the wicked hatred of the black, which disgraces our land; but not with the spirit of the Gospel of Christ.

 No. 8.
Extract of a letter from S. P. Hines, Sandy-Hill, N. Y.

The formation of such a Society as is contemplated, is very desirable. The evils of Slavery instead of diminishing, have greatly increased—and the expectations of many who have now passed to their accounts, that the slave-system would be *gradually* overcome, have ended in disappointment. The fetters of the slave have been rivetted more securely, as their number increased; and the free colored citizens have been compelled to share in the oppression, by onerous, anti-christian, and anti-republican laws. The legislators from the free States, like the strong man of old, seem to have wedded a shrew—and by stratagems, entreaties and reproaches, they have been robbed of their strength and obscured in their vision. The veriest mad-cap

in politics, from the slave-holding district, has only to say, "If the union be put into one scale, and slavery in the other—*let union kick the beam*;" and he who aforesaid was wont to speak with boldness and act with energy, becomes a mere "*dough-face*"—quails before the whip of the slave-driver—forgets the principles of our declaration of independence, tramples on the rights of one-sixth of our native citizens, breaks the most palpable doctrine of the sacred volume, and, led by an intellectual child, "*makes sport*" for the uncircumcised task master.

No. 9.

Extract of a letter from Orestes K. Hawley,

(A Physician, Austinburgh, Ohio.)

The cause is rapidly gaining ground in this section of country, and the more the people here examine the subject, the more they enlist heart and hand in the cause of immediate emancipation.

Although I cannot be present at the formation of the National Society, I will pay Twenty Dollars as a premium for the best written Tract of not less than fifty pages, showing the superior advantages of Free labor over Slave labor, to individuals and the community in general in the slave-holding States; provided One Hundred Dollars be pledged for the above purpose by the first of February next, and the Tract be forwarded to Elizur Wright, Jun. by the first of May next, under seal, with the author's name. Arthur Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, and Gardner Spring to be a committee to judge of the merits; or those men to appoint a committee, to consist of two Abolitionists and one Colonizationist; or, if thought preferable, three Abolitionists and two Colonizationists. My object in calling in Colonizationists is to get them to examine the subject.

NOTE. Since this pamphlet has been in type the publishing Committee have been informed that JAMES T. DICKINSON, of Norwich, Ct. declines to act as an officer of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society. The mistake in this case is unaccountable to the Committee, for the rule was constantly urged upon the members of the Convention; to nominate none whom they did not *know* would willingly serve.